

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6564

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN (EUR) FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, GW, US
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH IN BERLIN, MARCH 18

1. TRANSMITTED BELOW IS TEXT OF SPEECH I PLAN TO MAKE IN BERLIN MARCH 18 AT ANNUAL MEETING OF AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. THE BERLIN PORTION IS INTENDED TO REAFFIRM OUR POSITION AND DRAWS HEAVILY ON THE VICE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN BERLIN IN JANUARY. OTHER PORTIONS REFLECT CURRENT POLICIES; OUR AIM IS TO EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN BASIC STRENGTH OF US-FRG RELATIONSHIP AND PUT PRESENT PROBLEMS IN CONTEXT. I MAY PICK UP SOME QUOTES FROM PRESIDENT'S UN SPEECH MARCH 17 IF APPROPRIATE ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

2. BEGIN TEXT. IN THE RELATIVELY SHORT TIME -- NOT YET HALF A YEAR -- THAT I HAVE HAD THE HONOR OF SERVING MY COUNTRY AS AMBASSADOR TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, I HAVE MADE MANY VISITS TO THIS GREAT AND VIBRANT CITY OF BERLIN. ALREADY MY WIFE AND I HAVE MADE MANY FRIENDS HERE, AS WE HAVE BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH BERLINERS IN THE POLITICAL AND BUSINESS
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WORLD, AND IN THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THIS CITY.

3. EACH TIME WE ARE HERE WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR RETURN VISIT, AND WE NOW FULLY UNDERSTAND THE SAYING, "BERLIN IST EINE REISE WERT."

4. AND SO I AM DELIGHTED THAT THE AMERICAN CHAMBER

OF COMMERCE HAS MADE THE VISIT IN A BODY, AND THAT
YOU HAVE INVITED ME TO MEET WITH YOU HERE.

5. BERLIN, AS YOU WELL KNOW, HAS A SPECIAL PLACE IN
THE HEARTS NOT JUST OF GERMANS BUT OF AMERICANS AS
WELL. MORE THAN ONCE IN THE LAST THREE DECADES THE
FATE OF AMERICANS HAS LITERALLY BEEN TIED TO THE
COURSE OF EVENTS IN BERLIN. TOGETHER WE HAVE MET
THE CHALLENGES THAT CONFRONTED US AND THE COURAGE OF
THE BERLINERS HAS BEEN AN INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US.

6. JUST AS DURING THE COLD WAR BERLIN WAS THE FOCAL
POINT OF TENSIONS, IN RECENT YEARS IT HAS BECOME
THE FOCAL POINT OF EFFORTS TO EASE TENSIONS. THE
QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WHICH WAS SIGNED IN 1971
WAS THE PRECONDITION FOR SUBSEQUENT STEPS TOWARD
DETENTE. IT MADE POSSIBLE THE BEGINNING OF PREPARATIONS
FOR THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN
EUROPE AND A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELA-
TIONS BETWEEN THE NATIONS OF EAST AND WEST.

7. HOW THAT AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED HAS A CRUCIAL
BEARING ON THE CONTINUATION OF THE PROCESS OF RELAXING
TENSIONS. IT HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE TO REFER TO
BERLIN AS THE TOUCHSTONE OF DETENTE.

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8. WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT FRESH CHALLENGES
TO BERLIN CAN AND DO ARISE. THE DETERMINATION OF

THE UNITED STATES TO REBUFF THOSE CHALLENGES REMAINS FIRM. IT WAS TO ERASE ANY DOUBTS ON THAT SCORE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER, LESS THAN A WEEK AFTER HIS INAUGURATION, ASKED VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO VISIT BERLIN ON HIS FIRST TRIP ABROAD. ON THAT OCCASION, MR. MONDALE SAID:

"THE UNITED STATES STANDS BY ITS COMMITMENT TO USE WHATEVER MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY TO RESIST ANY ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS INDICATED HIS DETERMINATION THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT ONLY FULFILL ITS PROMISE TO SEE THAT BERLIN SURVIVES, BUT ALSO TO GO FURTHER TO HELP THIS CITY AND ITS RESIDENTS FLOURISH AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WESTERN WORLD."

9. THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT WAS BASED ON RESPECT FOR THE FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BERLIN AS A WHOLE. AS VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE ALSO POINTED OUT DURING HIS VISIT TO BERLIN, "ANY QUESTIONING OF THIS IMPORTANT BASIS AND ANY UNILATERAL ATTEMPT TO ALTER THE FOUR POWER STATUS OF THIS CITY UNCLASSIFIED

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WOULD NOT BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT AND WOULD VASTLY COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS."

10. THE UNITED STATES, ALONG WITH OUR BRITISH AND FRENCH ALLIES, WILL THUS CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT BE STRICTLY OBSERVED AND FULLY IMPLEMENTED. THIS INCLUDES, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIES BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC -- TIES WHICH REFLECT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BERLINERS THEMSELVES, AND WHICH ALSO ACCOUNT FOR MUCH OF THE VITALITY THAT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF BERLIN TODAY.

11. BERLIN, WHILE A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM AND COURAGE, IS MORE THAN JUST A SYMBOL. IT IS ALSO A THRIVING, VIABLE, ECONOMIC CENTER. THE OPERATIONS THAT MANY OF YOUR FIRMS HAVE HERE ATTEST TO THAT.

12. AND BERLIN IS ALSO A TRIBUTE TO THE CLOSE COOPERATION WHICH MARKS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE UNITED STATES.

13. AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS EXCELLENT. THE PROSPECTS ARE THAT IT WILL CONTINUE THAT WAY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. OUR INTERESTS ARE LINKED IN INNUMERABLE

WAYS, REFLECTING OUR SHARED CULTURAL HERITAGE AND OUR COMMON BELIEF IN BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, AS WELL AS OUR COMMON INTEREST IN ECONOMIC AND SECURITY AFFAIRS. WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT WE ARE NOT ONLY CLOSE ALLIES BUT CLOSE FRIENDS.

14. THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES IN MY CAREER -- RECENT ONES, I MIGHT ADD -- WHEN IT WAS HEADLINE NEWS THAT MY COUNTRY AND THE COUNTRY WHERE I WAS PREVIOUSLY UNCLASSIFIED

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SERVING HAD FOUND SOMETHING TO AGREE UPON. IT IS THUS ONLY PARTIALLY DISCOURAGING THAT WHAT MAKES HEADLINES TODAY IS THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND MY PRESENT HOST COUNTRY HAVE FOUND SOMETHING ON WHICH THEY DISAGREE. AND IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT IN ANY RELATIONSHIP, WHETHER BETWEEN PEOPLE OR BETWEEN NATIONS, DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AND DIVERGENCIES IN PERCEPTIONS SOMETIMES MANIFEST THEMSELVES. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE UNDERLYING STRENGTH OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO FACE THE ISSUES SQUARELY WHEN THEY ARISE AND RESOLVE THEM IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

15. MOMENTARY DIFFERENCES OF VIEW CONCERNING SOME ASPECT OF ECONOMIC POLICY OR MILITARY EQUIPMENT PROCUREMENT, OR SALES OF CERTAIN TYPES OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT SHOULD NOT BE MISINTERPRETED BY CASUAL OUTSIDE OBSERVERS. THESE ARE MATTERS THAT WILL BE DEALT WITH IN THE FRAMEWORK OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND, I AM CONFIDENT, SOLUTIONS WILL BE FOUND IN THE SPIRIT OF OUR PARTNERSHIP IN A GREAT ALLIANCE.

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16. MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE ISSUES WHICH
MOMENTARILY GIVE US DIFFICULTIES ARE THOSE WHICH
UNITE US AND TO WHICH WE BOTH DEVOTE OUR BEST
EFFORTS. ONE OF THESE IS IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY,
WHERE OUR SHARED PERCEPTIONS PERMIT CLOSE COOPERATION
IN PROMOTING THE CONTINUED STRENGTH OF THE NORTH
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. ANOTHER -- AND ONE TO WHICH I
WOULD LIKE TO DEVOTE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TONIGHT --
IS OUR COMMON EFFORT TO MEET THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES
OF THE TIMES.

17. WE ALL RECENTLY UNDERWENT A RATHER SERIOUS RECES-
SION, BUT IN THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF, WE HAVE ALSO
MADE GOOD PROGRESS ALONG THE PATH OF RECOVERY.
PRODUCTION LEVELS IN THE U.S., AS WELL AS THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND BERLIN, ARE NOW ABOVE THEIR PRE-
RECESSION HIGH POINT AND ALL SIGNS CONTINUE TO POINT
UPWARD. THE TASK CONFRONTING US NOW IS THE CONTINUA-
TION OF THIS GROWTH, THE SAFEGUARDING AND CREATION
OF JOBS, AND THE COMBATTING OF INFLATION. THESE
MULTIPLE OBJECTIVES, OF COURSE, ARE NOT EASILY
ATTAINED -- ESPECIALLY IN THE RIGHT BALANCE. THERE
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ARE, THOUGH, TOOLS AVAILABLE TO THE ECONOMIC POLICY-
MAKER WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE ATTEMPTING
TO SORT OUT AND UTILIZE TO GUIDE THE BUSINESS CYCLE
ALONG A COURSE CONSISTENT WITH THE ATTAINMENT OF THESE
GOALS.

18. IN THIS CONNECTION, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAS
EMPHASIZED MANY TIMES IN THE PAST THAT WE NEED TO
COORDINATE AND HARMONIZE NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES.
HIS VIEWS WERE SOLIDLY SUBSCRIBED TO AT THE
RAMBOUILLET CONFERENCE IN NOVEMBER 1975 AND LAST JUNE
AT THE PUERTO RICO SUMMIT. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS
MADE CLEAR THAT HE ALSO IS OF THE SAME OPINION. IF

THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE STRONGER, MAJOR INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST ARE HARMONIZED TO PULL TOGETHER, THE POSITIVE EFFECTS WILL BE FELT -- TO ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER -- BY ALL NATIONS OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THE STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMIES AND THOSE OF OUR TRADING PARTNERS ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING AND BENEFICIAL IN THIS INTERDEPENDENT WORLD.

19. IT HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED THAT WHEN THE MAJOR ECONOMIES IN THE BEST POSITION TO DO SO, THAT IS, GERMANY, JAPAN AND THE U.S., MOVE IN A CONSISTENT WAY, THE IMPACT ON THE REST OF THE WORLD IS OF MAXIMUM BENEFIT. IT IS THIS TECHNICAL ASPECT OF BUSINESS CYCLE POLICY AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE LINKAGES INVOLVED THAT LIES BEHIND THE CURRENT U.S. THINKING ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY. IT IS ALSO OUR VIEW THAT THE PROLONGATION OF THE UPTURN ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS IS BEST ASSURED BY RECOGNITION OF AND ACTION ON THIS PREMISE. IT IS LIKELY ALSO TO BE ONE OF THE MAJOR AGENDA ITEMS AT THE UPCOMING SUMMIT IN LONDON IN MAY WHEN THE LEADERS OF THE MAJOR WESTERN ECONOMIES SIT DOWN TOGETHER TO CONSULT.

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20. OF COURSE, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTORS WHICH HAS LED TO PREOCCUPATION WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS BEEN THE TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN THE COST OF IMPORTED OIL. GERMANY AND THE U.S. HAVE, TO A FAR GREATER EXTENT THAN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES, MANAGED TO COPE WITH THE BURDEN THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS REPRESENTED. THE COUNTRIES LEAST ABLE TO HANDLE THE MASSIVE INCREASE IN THE COSTS OF IMPORTED PETROLEUM HAVE BEEN IN THE LESS DEVELOPED WORLD. AS A RESULT, THE GAP BETWEEN THESE COUNTRIES AND THE DEVELOPED, INDUSTRIALIZED ECONOMIES HAS BEEN GROWING EVER WIDER.

21. THIS PHENOMENON OF THE RICH GROWING RICHER -- ALBEIT AT A SLOWER RATE THAN IN EARLIER TIMES -- AND THE POOR, IF NOT GETTING POORER, NOT MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS, DOES NOT BODE WELL FOR LONG-TERM ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED, AS A RESULT, THAT IT IS NOT ONLY IN LINE WITH THE INHERENT MORAL IMPERATIVES TO GIVE SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE POORER COUNTRIES, BUT IT IS ALSO IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO PREVENT THE INCOME DISPARITIES AMONGST NATIONS FROM GETTING TOO SEVERELY OUT OF BOUNDS. WITH THIS IN MIND, OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SO-CALLED NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE HAS A RENEWED SENSE OF URGENCY AND

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MEANINGFUL PURPOSE.

22. ONE SIGN OF OUR NEW APPROACH IN THIS AREA IS OUR RECENTLY STATED READINESS TO BEGIN TO NEGOTIATE ACTIVELY, WITHOUT PRE-COMMITMENT, ON THE POSSIBLE OBJECTIVES AND ELEMENTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE ARRANGEMENT TO DEAL WITH KEY COMMODITY ISSUES. THIS LATTER' OF COURSE, IS A PRIME OBJECTIVE OF THE COUNTRIES BELONGING TO THE SOUTH BLOC WHEREIN ARE FOUND MANY LDC'S. OUR VIEW JUST STATED IN A MEETING UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, OR UNCTAD, IS THAT THE PROBLEMS FACED IN THE COMMODITIES AREA REQUIRE AN INTEGRATED APPROACH ADDRESSING PRICE STABILIZATION, TRADE, THE IMPROVEMENT OF MARKET STRUCTURES, STABILIZATION OF EXPORT EARNINGS, RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS A POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON ALL THESE ISSUES, AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION NOW IS IN THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING ITS SPECIFIC VIEWS ON WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN COOPERATE IN THE RESOLUTION OF COMMODITY PROBLEMS. IN OUR WILLINGNESS TO STUDY THESE MATTERS, WE DO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THERE MAY WELL BE OTHER, AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT APPROACHES TO THE LONG-TERM
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INTERESTS OF THE LDC'S.

23. WHILE WE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IN OUR EMBASSIES, MISSIONS AND CONSULATES GENERAL, MUST BE CONCERNED WITH THESE BIG POLICY ISSUES, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE OCCUPY OURSELVES WITH A LOT OF THINGS CONNECTED WITH OUR DAY-TO-DAY CONCERNS. IN GERMANY, WE HAVE AN ACTIVE TRADE PROMOTION AND INVESTMENT PROMOTION PROGRAM, CONDUCTED BOTH OUT OF OUR NEW MARKETING CENTER IN COLOGNE AND OUT OF THE EMBASSY, THE MISSION IN BERLIN, AND EACH OF OUR CONSULATES GENERAL. I HOPE YOU WILL CONSIDER ALL OF THESE OFFICES AS AN OPEN HOUSE FOR DISCUSSION OF ANY PROBLEMS YOU MAY HAVE. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT ONE OF OUR PRIMARY MISSIONS IS TO HELP AND FACILITATE THE SMOOTH FLOW OF BUSINESS AND TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. COOPERATION AND CONSULTATION WHICH, AS I MENTIONED EARLIER, ARE SO IMPORTANT ON THE MACRO LEVEL, BEGIN ON THE MICRO LEVEL, AND WE VERY MUCH WANT TO OPERATE AT BOTH LEVELS.

24. DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS, MANY OF YOU HAVE PARTICIPATED IN TWO SEMINARS, THE FIRST OF WHICH HAD TO DO WITH INTERNATIONAL TAX MATTERS. IN SPITE OF YOUR CONCERNS WITH THIS UNPALATABLE TOPIC, YOU HAVE ENJOYED TWO LUNCHEON MEETINGS WHICH WERE ADDRESSED BY EMINENT GERMANY REPRESENTATIVES, EACH OF WHOM SPOKE ON DIFFERING ASPECTS OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE IN THIS CHANGING WORLD.

25. THE SECOND OF YOUR SEMINARS WAS DEVOTED TO THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SITUATION, AN AREA WHERE INTERDEPENDENCE OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES IS PARTICULARLY APPARENT. BOTH SEMINARS, ONE ON PARTICULAR TAXATION PROBLEMS, AND THE OTHER ON GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, REFLECT THE "GOOD CITIZENSHIP" OF THE GERMAN AND

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AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITIES, WHO KNOW HOW TO APPRECIATE THE LITTLE PICTURE AS WELL AS THE BIG PICTURE AND WHO ARE FINE EXAMPLES OF OUR INTERDEPENDENCE AND MUTUAL COOPERATION.

26. GOETHE WROTE: "THE WEB OF THIS WORLD IS WOVEN OF NECESSITY AND CHANGE." THESE STRANDS INTERTWINE IN OUR PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, AND ALL OF US CAN DERIVE REASSURANCE FROM THE FACT THAT OUR BILATERAL

RELATIONSHIP AND OUR SECURITY ALLIANCE PROVIDE THE
UNDERPINNING AND SUPPORT NECESSARY TO COPE WITH OUR
PROBLEMS -- TO DEAL CONFIDENTLY WITH THE OBJECTIVE
FACTS OF THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE AS WELL AS THE
CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGES WHICH MUST BE UNDERTAKEN TO
CONFRONT NEW CHALLENGES.

27. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I THANK YOU FOR YOUR
ATTENTION, AND I WISH ALL OF YOU A MOST PLEASANT AND
ENJOYABLE EVENING. END TEXT.
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